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T H E  
ENGLISHMAN DECEIVED ;

*A Political Piece :*

WHEREIN

Some very important Secrets of State

are briefly recited,

*And offered to the Consideration of the*

P U B L I C .

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*Divide & impera*

*Divide & perde.*

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L O N D O N :

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## INTRODUCTION.

**W**HEN I first undertook this Letter, I had no further intention than to give information upon a most important subject, for a few leading men in the great Council of the Nation ; whose great influence, if well directed, might give ease, felicity, and content, to the whole empire : but when I come to reflect upon the difficulty, which the greatest and best of men meet with, to stem the torrent of prejudice and delusion, that the enemies of England have, with infinite art and industry, spread through the land, I saw it necessary to be more particular in reciting facts, in order to rectify many past errors ; and shall therefore now explain every allegation, for the benefit of any man who can read, or claim the least understanding. I blame no Minister, or Statesman, farther than in proportion

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portion as he may have promoted the designs and interests of our natural enemies, either by ignorance or design. I wish only to enable every sincere lover of his country to distinguish, with certainty, our friends from our enemies; and no longer suffer themselves to be led by the cunning and fatal designs of those, who have thus brought us to the brink of ruin.

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L E T T E R, &c.

S I R,

**G** I V E me leave to address myself to you particularly. I am persuaded of your love of justice and equity; and it is happy you live in a country blest with liberty; admitting every one to publish his sentiments, to give information, and even advice, to the greatest men, without the least impeachment of their honour or understanding.

This little piece may be singular; as it looks back to the fundamental principles of the constitution, and the very first dawns of English freedom; it is meant to support the almost obliterated idea of English dignity, which has been long since dropt, or shamefully abused, by many political writers, and is almost buried in the rubbish of antiquity. But as the vigour of our constitution, and the very existence of

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the empire, depends upon its revival, by measures resulting from this noble principle; I, in the name of every well-wisher to this country, beseech you, particularly, who are invested with power, to preserve or destroy the happiness of millions, to weigh well the important point, at this very important moment, and signalize yourself, by uncommon efforts, to save this great and mighty nation, from falling a sacrifice to a set of men, whose designs are, first to distract us with fatal divisions among ourselves, then consign us over to our enemies, who have long since paid down the price.

'Tis necessary first to inform you, that, whatever I assert I can prove; my intelligence comes from the very fountain: I have the sanction of men who stand foremost in reputation, wealth, and influence; my facts are such as the predestinarian must allow to have been from decrees eternal, nor can time immemorial change them into delusion. But suffer me to suspend the explanation of my plan, and keep back for a moment the conviction I intend to fix upon you, that it may finally strike with fuller evidence, and leave the stronger impressions. And first let me ask this single question—Is there any method by which

which the enemies of Great Britain can reasonably hope to conquer, or destroy us, but by forming dissensions, stirring up prejudices, disaffection, disagreement, and divisions ; which may eventually bring us to a fatal civil war, or render us unable to unite with spirit, vigour, and success, in our own defence ? This is their immediate interest ; this is their best policy ; this is the point they should keep in view, and what they are resolved to effect.--- Every good subject, of these kingdoms, will reply, Most undoubtedly, most evidently.

It is known to all men, well acquainted with the world, and motives of their conduct, that inveterate enemies may, from secret and ambitious designs, under the cover of solemn treaties, or high encomiums of esteem, be apparently our friends. The Spaniards formerly, and the French of late, have attempted universal monarchy, by arms. The Spaniards were beat out of that humour in 1588, by the loss of the Grand Armada ; the French, by the battles of Hockstade and Ramillies ; but they then thought proper to eke out the lyon's skin with the fox's tail ; and, at Utrecht, they had the address to unravel the victories of the war. The little remains

of the same spirit, then left, induced them to avail themselves of the death of Charles the sixth; they over-run Germany, by the division of the princes, even to Bohemia; but were again forced to their arts, by way of treat. They since have attempted to over-run Germany by surprize, and were preparing to do the same in America; but being beaten out of both, they once more had recourse to treaties, and formed the late peace; by what means, and how obtained, I will not say; but thus, you see, the enemies of Great Britain have played a game, ever by b\*\*\*\*y, successful, and often exceeding their warmest expectation. 'Tis therefore contrary to common sense, to suppose they will quit the cards, while they have every thing to expect.—No; experience tells us, they have steadily pursued their success ever since the peace.—We know (but we dare not yet impeach) \_\_\_\_\_ has, for several years since the peace, actually received from the court of France, £ \*\*\*\* a year, for service undertaken, and promised to be executed, for them. But this is no strange thing; for there was an English minister, formerly, who stood a pensioner to that court

court \*. And though we must not suppose there has been an instance lately, yet there can be no impropriety in looking back at the measures pursued ; since our artful enemies, before and since the late peace, have been admitted into our kingdom, and have ardently endeavoured to gain admittance into our councils also. I hope they have been disappointed ; for 'tis evident, to every man of common sense, that their designs are to divide us, by raising false suspicions, prejudices, and jealousies against each other ; and so distract us, by intestine quarrels, as to weaken our strength, which, when united, is, by their dear experience, found irresistible †.

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\* At the death of the Abbe De Boys, it was found that he had received a pension from England ; and among the papers of those ministers who died about the time when the parliamentary prosecutions began, upon the famous South-Sea year, 1720, it appeared that one of them had received £ 16,000 a year pension from France.—Nor is this a new thing ; Philip de Comenes proves, that all the great men of England, and even the King himself, took pensions from Lewis XI.

† By letters from many English gentlemen in France, since the peace, we have been informed, that these were their constant meditations ; and when they saw an approaching rupture with our subjects in America, even the common people exhibited the liveliest symptoms of joy at the news ; and the hopes of all were once more revived, that England would still, in some future day, be conquerable.—And, by letters from our friends in America, we are with the highest confidence assured, that there came a French

I am sorry that I am furnished with such facts ; but so it happened, that soon after the late peace took place, several persons of known integrity and tried abilities, grew every day more and more out of fashion. The famous Financier then took the lead ; and, instead of an eligible and constitutional method of reducing our debts and taxes, he immediately proceeded in a succession of measures, which all tended to divide and distract us. He began with extending the excise laws over the makers of cyder ; which some suppose (for some men will believe, there was a French influence prevailing somewhere, and cannot forget a former minister's taking a pension from that court) was but a leading measure towards bringing the makers of small-beer, (in their own houses) under the same odious laws ; which must have been attended

French agent over to New York, from the court of France, who, to prevent suspicion, came by way of Hispaniola ; and, while the uneasiness lasted, gave constant intelligence of matters to his employers ; and, no doubt, had they got intelligence, that our subjects in America were once fairly divided and unhinged from the mother-country, they would immediately have excited the whole body of Canadians to take up arms against our colonies, while they attacked us in some other sensible part, either here, or in our colonies, and so secured to themselves universal empire ; for, whatever state holds the provinces of North-America, may hold the full ballance of power to the world, and give it laws.

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with murmurs, and dangerous divisions ; thereby directly have answered the designs of our enemies.

General warrants came next ; which, by their mischievous, dangerous nature, and fatal tendency, and the efforts made to establish them as legal (which in their consequences must so certainly have utterly demolished every future claim to Liberty in this kingdom) leaves us no possible doubt, whether our Gentle Shepherd had, or had not, adopted French politics ; because the Grand Monarch himself could never have devised a better engine of slavery.—But I must lead you on, if not already convicted, to other measures, which were equally destructive, and, if continued, must have been attended with the same unhappy and dreadful consequences.—Restrictions on our trade.—He had the influence to fit out a number of our men of war ; which, from the expence, parade, and mighty blustering, in giving proper instructions, one might have imagined, had been designed for some grand and capital expedition ; and though it did not astonish all Europe, as some preparations of this kind have done, yet it astonished all men of common sense, who ever reflected upon the consequence, except those few who  
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knew the cause. This Grand Armada, for so I chuse to call it, as it resembles the Invincible Armada, both in the motives of its outset, and fate they met with; one was attended with the loss of the Spanish power, the other with the loss of the English trade. One was designed to enslave mankind; the other, if there was any design at all, to impoverish, and hereafter enslave the English empire. The brave officers of this Squadron were now made (under oath) real custom-house officers; not for England but for Spain and France; for, by this means, the French have possessed themselves of a great share of this most advantageous trade\*. Can any

\* The nature of this trade with the Spaniards is this—The Spaniards who live in Mexico, where they work their silver mines, find it doubly their interest to purchase British manufactures from the English merchant, in our West India islands, or in any of our ports in North America; because they can buy such goods as they want cheaper of our merchants than of their own; beside saving the indulto, or duty, and many other charges upon their money, which it is subjected to, if sent to Old Spain.—They therefore take every opportunity possible to purchase of us; and can any Englishman be so mad as to stop a trade, in which we receive in return, for every thing that we make in England, hard silver.—All the nations in Europe, who make manufactures, are exerting their utmost skill, and go every length to secure to themselves this lucrative trade.—None ever had it, in proportion to us, till ————, at a vast expence to the government, put a stop thereto, by obliging the Spaniard to purchase



any man imagine the then minister so totally lost to common sense, and so totally blind to the nation's interest, as to have done this under proper motives and influ-

purchase of the French and Dutch. The merchants here, who send goods to America, are in a state, little short of bankruptcy; for our merchants in America, used to make most of their payments in this silver, collected from the Spaniard. If this imperious, head-strong, obstinate financier, had meant to do his own country any service, he should have taken just the contrary method. The men of war, which, if there had been occasion of sending them out, should have been ready to protect us in this trade; the officers should have had secret verbal instructions, or hints to explain matters in this light, to the several governors through America; that their utmost endeavours were expected to secure the trade from plunder, which sometimes happens for want of their authority. Thus every merchant and manufacturer in England, would have had punctual and immediate payment for his goods, and full employment for double the hands he now employs; and many have been in splendid, easy circumstances, who are now, by reason of this fatal stroke, starving. Not a farmer, not a soldier, not a sailor, not a man of whatever rank in England, but now feels the difference. The rich, would have had more wealth, the poor hungry wretch would have had bread, and the man now shivering for want of cloaths, would have been sheltered in soft wool from the chilling winds. Upon the most moderate calculation, 'tis believed we have lost the sum of fifteen or twenty million of dollars by this fatal measure, which would otherways have come into this kingdom. A gentleman lately arrived from the West Indies, declares upon his honour, that he saw in one day seven Spanish sloops come into St. Eustatia bay, (a Dutch port) with dollars to purchase European manufactures. He endeavoured to persuade some of them, to go to the English islands, but was answered, the English did not know their own minds, nor could they yet put any confidence in them. N. B. those instructions have ceased since the dismissal of our great Financier from office.

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ence? the least that can be said, or the best apology that can possibly be made for him, is, that he wanted capacity and discernment. But it makes no difference to the nation, whether our ruin comes by blunders, or by iniquity; the minister who brings such calamities upon us, from either, ought to be responsible.

Our manufacturers, or Spital-field weavers, in the mean time, complained that the French evaded our prohibitory laws against their silks, by first sending them to the ports from whence our laws admit silks, paying a certain duty, &c. and pray'd for redress.—Had they strictly observed this minister's conduct, they would never have given themselves the trouble to attend him in the manner they did; for they must have concluded, he was too well bred, and too busy in pushing other matters, to give them the relief they wanted; for they wanted a national preference, and laws to secure English manufactories, and English interest; and as they were ignorant of his designs, their expectations must be acknowledged natural. But the manner in which he found means to disappoint them is well known.—Our merchants applied for payment of the Canada Bills, as agreed upon by the defini-

definitive treaty ; but were put off, with empty promises, and the common-place professions of sincerity in office ; the only thing they could ever obtain, and the only thing, in his department of business, that he can, with any justice, be said to be master of. At last, those bills sunk so low as 5 *per cent.* and were looked upon as lost ; which were, in a few months after, by the honest negotiation of the men who succeeded this minister, fixed, and actually paid, at near 40 *per cent.* and gives a most striking proof of his inability, or unworthiness, to take any lead in matters of state.

But, to proceed, fresh blunders were now meditating (I mean in the Gentle Shepherd's administration ; for he father's so many, that his idea will ever stand connected with blunders of state) he turned his wisdom towards restraining the trade of, and taxing our British colonies ; which indeed stood in need of some attention, but of a contrary nature ; for they had been at their full share of expence with Great Britain, and Ireland, in prosecuting the war \*. The late peace had taken most  
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\* The line of colonies had in actual service through the general course of the late war above 20,000 men, which they paid and clothed themselves. The difficulty of raising

of the articles of remittance out of their reach, by the reversion of the sugar islands and West India trade to the French; vastly in debt to England for manufactures, in debt to themselves for the large sums issued for the support of their troops; restricted by the custom-house officers of our men of war from their natural trade with Spanish America:—but, instead of giving any relief to those poor makers of brick (which might have been done by extending their trade to foreign markets) he immediately took away the little straw they had left; he took away all their pa-

ing them, where the price of labour is so extremely high, was very great, and most of the colonies found it necessary to give for encouragement every year from 5*l.* to 15*l.* sterling per man, to enlist for the yearly campaign, for labour was once as high as 4*s.* 6*d.* sterling per day. The debts which the provinces had to pay to their own governments; just as we do in England, made taxation on land much higher than it is here, and in some colonies equal in almost every thing else. There never was therefore a stranger absurdity than pretending that these provinces should pay us for defending them, and till the late war they have ever defended themselves. Vast numbers of their best sailors were likewise constantly in our men of war, which obliged them to give 20 guineas per man frequently to come only to England.—

When Admiral Saunders was about to proceed for Quebec in the year 1759, he acquainted the people of Boston, that he wanted a number of good seamen, upon which, they immediately sent him a great number of their best sailors, who almost all continued in the Fleet, till the peace took place.

per currency †; and though there may be good arguments in favour of a solid medium

† The sudden reduction of this paper money was a dreadful calamity to the provinces, for they had always remitted all their specie, or gold and silver to England for goods. This paper served them for common circulation, and answered just as well as so much gold, where they took care to keep the sum within bounds. And if it ever fell in value sterling debts, to the northward of Virginia, were always paid in sterling, therefore the English merchant could not suffer by it; they gave the very best security for redeeming it, which were lands of the whole province, and it was to them just as bank notes or navy bills are to us. Whatever therefore may be said in favour of a solid medium, nothing can exceed the ill-judged time and moment of an attempt to take it away, for the merchants who owed money to G. B. had none left to pay, or any possible method of getting it, in any seasonable time, but from among the Spaniards. This door was shut up to them, as well as to us, by our wife minister's officers of floating Spanish custom-houses. This has left our merchants in England, who traded to America, in a state, little short of bankruptcy, and the merchants in America in a still worse condition. Lands in America must be sold to pay debts, just as chattels are in England; and there was an instance in the province of New Jersey, of one merchant suing seventy shopkeepers for debt; the seventy had lands, and their lands were sold at public auction for no more than the sum owing, by which means seventy families were deprived of their substance for want of this paper currency. In the province of Connecticut, their provincial or governmental taxes and arrearages, were a year or two since £80,000 to be discharged within the year, and though the officers of government filled the jails with people, till they would contain no more, and distrained upon every man's property, lands, houses, and chattels, they could collect no more of the tax than £7000, or thereabouts. A true state of the whole may at any time be seen in the hands of their agent, Mr. Johnson, now here.

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dium of commerce, yet there can be no arguments in favour of taking away an artificial medium, without supplying its place with a better than that which is taken away; and the sum thus taken away must be replaced, before the merchants in America can pay the merchants and manufacturers in England; and this is the reason that so many thousands of our poor are now out of employ, and in a starving condition \*. Surely, nothing could keep people from demanding sudden revenge upon the authors of so much mischief, but the love of liberty, order, English dignity, and an English King.

Englishmen, and their descendants, wherever they go, and wherever they plant themselves, are Englishmen, with all their rights, privileges, and freedom.— They are subjects; for they have their

The taxes were so high upon the town of Boston, that every man who appeared in a good way of business, or lived in a decent house, was taxed from 10l. to 20l. per annum. A captain of a ship, who constantly went to sea, has been taxed 12l. per annum.

\* If I mistake not, the colonies owed to G. B. in the year 1766, five millions; had proper measures been pursued, one fourth might long since have been paid off, which if now in England, would make a strange though agreeable difference with our merchants, manufacturers and landholders; whereas now, they can neither get goods from England, or pay for them.

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king, and his protection, in every corner of the earth ; nor is he less an Englishman who lives in India, Africa, or America, than he who daily basks in the immediate sunshine of roval presence.

Thus the Romans were Romans ; and wherever they went, they carried their city.—We were Englishmen in Saxony : The Scotch are Englishmen by alliance, and intimate union ; the Irish are Englishmen, by adopting our laws, and the sacred rights of English freedom go through the world with them. These first principles of our constitution are our birthright, and just inheritance ; and shall any power on earth dare to injure or violate them ? Yet this obstinate blunderer, in defiance of equity, honour, policy, freedom, persuasion, or humanity, ventured to set the example, and tried the dreadful experiment, which no minister ever attempted before ; and at a single stroke enslaved every Englishman in America. They had been, long before, represented to him reduced to a state of bankruptcy ; their trade lost, by restrictions, and insupportable taxes ; their money all taken from them, with no possible method of replacing it : in debt to England ; burdened with immense internal taxations, to discharge their provincial

cial debts, contracted by the expence they were put to in the late war, in conjunction with England †; though the benefits of conquest could be immediately advantageous to England only; greatly behind-hand in their agriculture, by sending their labouring men into the field of battle.— In short, they had little else left but life and freedom. But this ———, against all their humble intreaties, or spirited assertions, of being Englishmen (whose property is at his own disposal) stripped them of all future pretensions to either property or freedom, by imposing upon them the late remarkable and ever memorable Stamp-Act; which at the same time carried within itself such a dangerous engine of state, as never before was attempted to

† Every one who knows the state of the colonies, knows that they are greatly confined for want of a market to take off their produce; such as all sorts of timber, flour, provisions of all sorts, &c. and since the provinces of Canada, Newfoundland, and the Floridas, are added to the other provinces, all their produce goes to the same markets, which makes the supply greater, and of course the price less; therefore the lands of the old settled colonies are less valuable in proportion, and may at this time be purchased near a hundred per cent. cheaper than in the most dangerous moments thro' the late war. Colonel Bird's estate in Virginia, which is now valued and to be disposed of by lottery at £40,000, would have sold in 1760, for £70,000. A gentleman in New-Jersey, has been imprisoned many months for about £2000, whose estate would have sold in 1760, for £5000.

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be raised in this kingdom. We know, from our own history, that Kings have made large strides to be absolute; but no minister, even Woolsey himself, ever ventured so far. This Act \* invests an absolute power in the four Lords of the Treasury (which is much the same as giving it to the first Lord) to raise the price upon the stamp'd paper, to any sum they might think proper. This paper, by the letter and spirit of the law, was absolutely necessary, in the execution of any business where property was concerned, to make the same valid in law; hence it is evident, from the stamps being kept in England, the sole power of sending over the paper, or preventing its going at proper times, and in sufficient quantities, the power of the stamp-master, appointed for the distribution of paper, to harass and plague the people, by monopoly, or local detention, which would raise the price of the paper

\* Page 304 — “ And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the High Treasurer of Great-Britain, or the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, or any three, or more of such commissioners, for the time being, shall, once in every year, at least, set the prices at which all sorts of stamped vellum, parchment, and paper shall be sold, by the said commissioners, for managing the stamp duties, and their officers, and that the said commissioners, for the said duties, shall cause such prices to be marked upon every such skin, and piece of vellum, and parchment, and sheet, and piece of paper, &c. &c.”

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itself, by the difficulty of obtaining it ; or oblige the distant farmer to travel, hundreds of miles, to secure a single sheet ; which is contrary to the laws of vicinage, the absolute impossibility of paying money for the paper ; subjecting the poor husbandman to bring his corn or cattle to the stamp-master for payment † ; the power of juries taken away, and all decisions committed to Judges, who hold their commissions at pleasure ; and, in fine, the power of governing all his Majesty's subjects in America, by having the full command of their wealth ; so that the King himself had no other than the name of dominion over them. I say, when all those circumstances come to be considered, and their tendency discovered, the meanest

† Money was so scarce in the provinces, that the stamp-master in Maryland, told his friends he should in so many months, be master of all the cash circulating in the province ; then he would take their corn, commence merchant, govern the market, turn the corn into a commanding medium, and purchase their lands at his own price : this he might easily have done, and, had not that law been repealed, a few years would have given them possession of near half the lands in America, and tyrannic power over all the rest of his Majesty's subjects there ; for the Lords of the Treasury could at will have raised a sheet of paper from sixpence, to a hundred pounds, therefore had full command of all the wealth that America could acquire, and their whole property, of which they had, at immense expence of blood, treasure, labour, watchfulness and care, possessed themselves.

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understanding must discern the most infamous and execrable designs, through the whole, that our inveterate enemies themselves could possibly have recommended.— I say, our enemies; for the famous Financier had not capacity or genius enough for such a deep and wise-invented plan of destruction.

I have recited but one clause of this Act, though all tends to the same end, and breathes the same spirit\*.

Thus, this minister was upon the very point of gaining such an undue influence, in this nation, as never was before known. How soon would he have had such a number of venal followers, who, for their share of American property, might implicitly obey his dictates, or rather the dictates of our enemies, till they had plunged this great empire into utter ruin, and abject slavery; or at least create such disturbances as the enemy would have taken ad-

\* Dr. Franklin, a gentleman of great abilities, and commands a great share of inoffensive wit, and true humour, was desired by a particular person to point out the particularly grievous parts, and clauses in this act; and after reading the same over very carefully, returned it to his lordship, with the alteration of only one word, as the only alteration which could possibly be admitted, or to any purpose be advised; and this was, that instead of one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, it should take place in two thousand seven hundred and sixty-five.

vantage of. It would have given great alarm to us all, had the power of the stamps, here in England, been thus delegated to the minister ; but those who look any distance, see equal danger attending those in America. Indeed, in some respects, there was more danger in the latter ; for the distance must lessen the grievous complaints, and gives the minister an opportunity of gathering wealth, and creating power, unseen, though not unfelt ; yet many would not have immediately discerned the cause ||. Beside, how cruelly oppressive and unjust ! Shall the bee, who goes farthest for honey, have no shelter from the hive ? is the sweetness of the honey-suckle too delicious for his palate, or its juice too precious for his support ; while he labours in the common cause ? Shall the Englishman, in India, or America, for they are there, still Englishmen, be denied the use and enjoyment of their little pocket expences, while their wealth must center

|| All the wealth, property, and future prospects of acquiring any in America, would have been entirely at the controul of the minister, and must have been eaten up by his creatures, instead of coming into England in payment for our manufactures, which would enrich us just in proportion, as the people there increased in numbers, and wealth ; we should have therefore been starving for want of that trade, which is our only secure trade left to this nation.

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here in England? Shall their fidelity be called in question, if, after a trial of 150 years, they never did refuse to submit to the laws of their country, while they breathed an English spirit? Have our provinces ever refused to contribute their full share of support in the common cause, when they had the honour of doing it, with their own consent?

The Parliament certainly have, and ought to preserve, a legislative power over the whole empire. But, I hope, taxation is looked upon as a different thing from legislation, and always confined to actual representation. If his Majesty has not power enough, in any one of the colonies, to raise proportionably necessary supplies, for the support of the state in general; or if his prerogative power is not sufficient to regulate and order all matters of government, necessary for their peace and safety, let it be immediately increased and strengthened\*; why need the worst method  
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\* The form of government in most of the provinces, is a near resemblance of the British parliament, (if we may compare little things to great.) The people chuse once in seven years a certain number to represent the respective counties, who raise supplies, as the Commons do here. The Governor represents his Majesty, and can nominate, and with his Majesty's approbation, appoint a certain number  
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be first tried ; while a thousand, which are easy, and have always proved successful, are neglected ? Would any man, in his senses, if his hand or foot were inflamed, first attempt a cure by violent and untried remedies, which might very probably destroy the limb, perhaps the whole body ;

of his friends, who are called his Council, who, like the Lords, complete the legislative body. All their laws must have the concurrence of this whole legislature, and after that his Majesty's own approbation to make them valid ; for his disapprobation of course repeals them : hence his majesty has the same means of raising supplies in the colonies, as in England, or Ireland. The Governor for the time being, is likewise High Chancellor of the province. Thus it is evident, the people have no other power, than that of giving their own money, and have the same inducements to do this according to their abilities, as we have in Britain, nor have they ever once refused contributing most amply, and often have done it much beyond their abilities. The provinces of Rhode Island and Connecticut are, by charter, much upon the republican principles, and the dignity of government falls far short of what might be really advantageous towards its perfection, vigour and support ; especially the former, but these provinces have often given the most serious proofs of their good disposition, to share equally in all the burdens which have ever attended the state ; and should they, by a contrary conduct, ever forfeit their privileges, it is then time enough to introduce any new regulations. I candidly confess the government of Rhode Island, even now, stands in need of some alterations ; and the leading people of the province, have long desired it ; but must the whole empire be thrown into convulsions, because one little province wants regulating ? or shall all our subjects in America be made slaves, because some few smugglers in this province can be licentious.

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would he not first try lenitives ; or, if local applications prove not effectual, would he not alter his regimen, correct the juices, and submit to purify the whole body, rather than lose so valuable a part ?

But the intention of this letter is not to controvert the Right of Parliament ; it is to trace the designs, and actual influence, which our enemies gain over us, by working upon our passions and prejudices ; sowing the seeds, and carefully cultivating the poisonous weeds of jealousy and discontent, in every heart, capable of nourishing the cursed plant ; and imposing upon the understandings of those among us, not thoroughly acquainted with our universal interests, intimate and inseparable connections, and the necessity of preserving the whole empire free, rich, and happy. The meekest nonsense and madness, that ever disgraced common sense : for what ? but to divide us against ourselves, and our own natural interests ; the only method by which we can possibly be destroyed. It becomes us therefore to watch very attentively, lest such men lead us by delusions to embrace our own ruin, in hunting shadows, and defining words, which, if defined by solemn Acts of Parliament, ever so clearly, leave the heart still at liberty  
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to think for itself. It now becomes us to enquire, whether there be still any grievous laws or restrictions upon our subjects, in any corner of the earth; whether it is not high time to think of taking off the heavy duty on soap and candles, in the seat of manufactures, which subjects the labourer to infinite inconveniencies, and of course heightens the price of goods\*. Whether our manufactures decline not, from restrictive laws, and injudicious regulations, still remaining in our plantations? whether the admiralty courts, as they are now established there, are not dangerous, oppressive traps, to the fairest trader †?

Whether

\* 'Tis well known that in the country, the poor labourer can't burn oil, or even rushes, to work through the evening, without prosecution, and to burn candles, he can't afford; hence he is idle for many hours in the 24. We raise and keep in employ a great number of seamen in catching whales; why should not the consumption of oil be more universal, since it might be so very beneficial?

† By an act taking place, the 29th of September, 1764, it is enacted, that in case any ship belonging to our plantations, being seized by our men of war, &c. are stopped by any informer, the owner of the said ship and cargo, though he may make it appear she is on a free, lawful trade, can have no appeal to any court whatsoever for justice, unless the Judge of Admiralty there shall please to give him a certificate, declaring that there was no probable cause of detention or seizure, &c. nor can he have any possible redress, without their certificate, though his cargo may have totally perished, or the market lost: and though there have been hundreds of our ships, on a lawful trade, thus detained, pillaged and plundered, since the said act has been made;

yet



Whether some of the most important of our provinces have not remonstrated, and prayed, for an extension of their commerce, which alone enables them to pay for our manufactures †? Whether the board of revenue, erected in Boston, and the money collected thereby, to take upon ourselves the support of all the civil officers of government in America, which

yet there has scarcely been an instance, where such certificate could be obtained by the merchant. One Capt Grant, who was lately stationed at Antigua, made a constant practice of this piracy, plundered every thing he met with, did once keep a Bermudian sloop in tow many days, for having only part of a barrel of sugar on board for the seamen, while they were lading the sloop with sugar at Turks islands; insulted, and almost starved the Captain, while he kept him confined on board his ship, &c. &c. but this is only one of his piracies; the whole would fill a volume. But no certificate of this kind, or any justice could be obtained by the owners of this vessel, from the Admiralty Judge.

† The merchants of New York and Boston, no longer since than November, 1766, petitioned for relief in their trade, to enable them to encrease their importations of our manufactures, or rather their ability to pay for them; but the very English, principal merchants who traded there; I mean the committee of London merchants, did every thing to discourage its success, because they had taken upon themselves, not long before, to print out measures of trade, for the colonies; and were greatly offended, because the merchants of those provinces dare tell them they had blundered, and presumed to know the state of their own trade, better than the merchants of this city. The *wise* chairman of this body of merchants was one of the men who recommended the taking away the paper currency from our colonies, and now, as warmly recommends restoring it, when too late to give relief.

E

they

they themselves used always to support, is not a measure, which, while it gives uneasiness to our colonists, burdens ourselves in † England with fresh expences? Whether laying a heavy duty upon glass, and paper, will not oblige them to manufacture those coarse articles among themselves, and thereby ruin every manufacturer of those goods in England? Is it political to begin with loading such articles of necessity first with duties, and such too as are easily made in America? for those gross kind of goods demand less labour, and will flourish, where manufactures of luxury cannot possibly exist. The government now pay a bounty of three shillings per pound on wrought silks, sent to the very same place; is not this giving money to the rich and extravagant, who wear silks, and can well, or ought to be well able to pay something to the support of government; and at the same time pinching the poor necessitous cottager, by de-

† The people in our provinces always paid their governors and judges themselves, by taxes easy to themselves; and shall we take upon us to support them at the expence of our trade: Their laws were always good, and in the northern colonies were in general well executed; their courts of justice supported a due degree of dignity, and disputes between man and man were equitably decided; why therefore should we make, then, strange innovations.

nying

nying him light, while he may have shelter from the piercing cold ? Besides, the increase of duty, and price, upon things of luxury, would give them no uneasiness or distress ; for, whenever they have ability to pay for the article, they will think it no hardship to add the duty ; but to load the most necessary articles that ever go from us, they think, must be looked upon by us, whenever we consider the consequences fully ; as injudicious ; tending to injure our own manufactures ; transfer them to the only place we have left to export them to ; discourage the growing settlements, which, as they extend in cultivation, will stand in a proportionable necessity of our manufactures ; whereas, their confinement must drive them to the resource of manufacturing ; the eternal consequences of want of land. Some may imagine, perhaps, for some men have very fruitful, though very shallow imaginations, that we must oblige them to consume our manufactures ; but those who know any thing of the matter, will tell you, it is extremely difficult to oblige any people, against their inclination, to wear superfine cloth, drink beer, eat cheese, lay out every shilling in their possession for jewels, ribbons, and the innumerable fashionable

shionable trinkets we send to them \*. Is it not necessary to enquire, whether the noise and dispute about the right of taxing America, and the efforts to do it, is not a dispute between the power of administration, who want to feed their dependants on the riches of America ; and the future increase and flourishing of our manufactures, on which depends our commerce, grandeur, and freedom ? Or, in other words, whether we shall, in future, have a most advantageous trade with our colonies, in which, as it increases, they must of necessity share our burdens ; or whether a few men in power shall command their wealth and our own (it is inseparable) by laying fresh taxes upon, and creating new offices among them ? For I

\* Manufactures are built upon poverty and want of land ; our only method is therefore to encourage the extension, and spreading of our subjects as much as possible, and encourage such raw materials as we want for our manufactures ; and in the same proportion, as they have increased in their importations of our goods (which is beyond all belief to strangers,) so they will continue to do, till their demands are more than all our exports, if oppression does not prevent them. The article of pot-ash shews how much benefit we may expect from America ; for when they first began to make it there, the price was 65 l. per ton, which was paid by England to foreigners, chiefly in cash ; and now we have it, equally good, from America, at 30 l. per ton, all paid for in our manufactures. Just so we might soon have the command of hemp, iron, or any important material wanted for our manufactures.

must

must beg leave to observe, that this late act, discouraging some of our most important manufactures, and which so justly alarms our fellow-subjects in America, was formed by, and arose entirely from, the leaven of that power, which before brought us to such unhappy circumstances †.— That this man, though justly banished from his Majesty's immediate employment, finds means yet to divide and distract, and almost destroy the power and reputation of these great kingdoms; that he pursues the designs of our enemies with success, and still blows up the sparks of prejudice into a dangerous flame; let us enquire, how it came to pass, that the Judges in our colonies are still so totally dependant on the Governors, for their commission and support; and why the spirit of the Act of Settlement should not extend to the most distant subject. His

† The late Chancellor of the Exchequer, confessed to some of his friends, that he had promised the Gentle Shepherd, before he was Chancellor, that he would endeavour to lay an act upon America, which would so far resemble the Stamp act, as to answer the same purposes. Thus you see the same influence prevailed. He was the father of the second child, who though born with smoother features, and weaker limbs, yet may in time become as justly formidable, and contaminate the whole nation. Men who are fired with the true spirit of old English freedom, should in the same manner as they did to the former, blast its life in infancy.

Majesty,

Majesty, immediately upon his succession to the throne, gave a most striking instance of his inclination to support this independency; and ordered, that the pensions, which usually went with the office, should be fixed to them immoveable. 'Tis clear, therefore, that the Minister, not his Majesty, desired the continuance of this dependence.

Let us no longer be deceived by the arts of our enemies, or by any wicked minister, influenced by them, who pretends, that our colonies pay no taxes. If his motives are wicked, he ought to be banished for his principles; if honest, he ought to be despised for his profound ignorance, or inability. Dost thou not know, thou short-sighted creature, that our line of British colonies import one third of all our exports of British manufactures; that they have, by law, no other market to purchase at, nor inclination to wear, or consume, any other manufactures than British; that they so far excel us, living in England, in taste and conduct, as to consume no foreign manufactures\*; and,

\* 'Tis well known that through the course of the late war, when every day captures were made, and prizes brought into our colonies, loaded with French manufactures; that those manufactures were generally sold at public auction  
for

and, where our subjects in North America consume twenty shillings value of French manufactures, we, who live here in England, consume a million's worth of the meerest trinkets, or articles of the most depraved fashions, that can be brought into use?—Doeſt thou not know, that if his Majesty's faithful subjects (I will now call them) take off one third of our manufactures exported, that they support, under every tax, and at the ſame time increaſe the fortune, of every third manufacturer through the kingdom, who works for export; that the manufacture, let it be what it will, pays the labourer his wages, with all his taxes included in it †. But where does he get the money, but from the in-

for half the price, which ſuch goods muſt have coſt in England; that they were purchaſed by merchants who traded to the foreign markets, and exported thither by them, and not conſumed by any of our inhabitants, who deſpised them becauſe they were French, and not agreeable to their taſte and fashions. N. B. they are allowed certain manufactures which may poſſibly be called foreign, but they are importative only through England.

† If the manufacturer, while employed in the manufacture, eats bread, he pays the land tax, for the price of bread is higher on that account; if he drinks beer, he pays the duty on beer and malt; if he drinks tea, he pays the duty on that article; if he lives in a houſe, he pays the window tax; and if he wears ſhoes, he pays the tax upon leather, all which raiſe the price, and are included in the manufacture, and is repaid to the manufacturer by the conſumer.

F

duſtrious

dustrious farmer in America, who imports and pays for the cloth, stockings, shoes, buttons, linens, furniture, or any other article whatever. What can therefore force us into such madness, as to discourage this trade, or prevent, for a moment, giving every encouragement that can be devised to increase it ; for it is the very basis of our wealth, strength, and greatness.

The following Letters, presented not long since to a noble Lord, by an old, firm, steady friend to the constitution, whose abilities enabled him to make the clearest observations, upon many years great experience, will confirm this opinion.

## L E T T E R I.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ THERE are three things, in which I  
 ‘ would be more particular than I could  
 ‘ be in the short hints I sent your Lord-  
 ‘ ship, and without an intention to reflect  
 ‘ on any one minister, as I am ignorant  
 ‘ who were the authors of the late mea-  
 ‘ sures, just delineate them, as they lie in  
 ‘ my own mind, for your Lordship’s con-  
 ‘ sideration.

‘ The



‘ The popular cry was, That as we had  
 ‘ been at a great expence to drive away  
 ‘ the French, and save the Americans, it  
 ‘ was but reasonable they should refund  
 ‘ part of that expence.

‘ This pretence took with many un-  
 ‘ thinking people, who did not consider,  
 ‘ that wherever the enemy made their  
 ‘ strongest efforts, there the grand expence  
 ‘ would arise.

‘ Suppose this effort had been made in  
 ‘ any other part of the British dominions ;  
 ‘ for instance, had they landed in Scot-  
 ‘ land, and made a rapid progress, as they  
 ‘ did in the late rebellion ; would you,  
 ‘ after the war was over, have taxed all  
 ‘ the counties from which they were dri-  
 ‘ ven, with any new tax, to refund that  
 ‘ particular expence, on those who, during  
 ‘ the course of the war, furnished a rea-  
 ‘ sonable quota both of men and money,  
 ‘ exerted themselves to the utmost, and  
 ‘ our whole expence centered again in  
 ‘ England ; as all the money spent on our  
 ‘ fleet, and in our colonies, certainly did :  
 ‘ Doth not such a demand appear very  
 ‘ absurd ? Was not this expence incurred  
 ‘ to preserve his Majesty’s dominions, and  
 ‘ preserve our trade, as well as secure A-  
 ‘ merican property, and thereby secure

‘ our own, so intimately connected with  
 ‘ them ?

‘ What sums have, the last war, been  
 ‘ expended to preserve Hanover, (which  
 ‘ never return to Great Britain more); do  
 ‘ you, now the war is over, make a de-  
 ‘ mand on them, or any other of the Ger-  
 ‘ man Princes, for saving them from the  
 ‘ ravage of the French ?

‘ Why then should our infant colonies,  
 ‘ labouring under their several provincial  
 ‘ debts, contracted for the common cause,  
 ‘ and who furnished men for every expe-  
 ‘ dition, be singled out, and loaded with  
 ‘ such a burthen ? a burthen far superior  
 ‘ to their ability ! a burthen which will  
 ‘ eventually terminate on England ; which  
 ‘ every merchant connected with Ame-  
 ‘ rica, and the thousands of manufacturers  
 ‘ employed by those merchants, must also  
 ‘ feel ; under which they will groan, and  
 ‘ by which they will be ruined.

‘ Another thing is, sending troops to  
 ‘ defend America ; which, indeed, has a  
 ‘ great appearance of care over them, but  
 ‘ really is as absurd as it is needless. To  
 ‘ send regular troops to a people, who in  
 ‘ a former war not only defended them-  
 ‘ selves, but fitted out an expedition, which  
 ‘ succeeded in taking the French capital  
 ‘ fortrefs

‘ fortrefs of Louifburgh, and thereby fur-  
‘ nifhed their mother-country with a pre-  
‘ mium to purchafe peace.

‘ A people who, in the laft war, with-  
‘ out any regular troops to affift them, de-  
‘ feated the French regulars under De-  
‘ fkow ; and, had they been timely sup-  
‘ ported, would have drove the French out  
‘ of Canada, without that heavy expence  
‘ which is now complained of, and Ame-  
‘ rica called on to refund ; an expence  
‘ which was chiefly occafioned by the fu-  
‘ pine neglect and timid efforts of the mi-  
‘ niftry of her mother-country, which  
‘ gave the French time to pour in troops  
‘ on the continent of America.

‘ Can this people, with nothing but In-  
‘ dians behind them, from whom they  
‘ have defended themfelves an hundred  
‘ years, when French regulars are entirely  
‘ removed from the continent, have any  
‘ occafion for regular troops to defend  
‘ them ? If they are not neceffary, it is  
‘ creating a large expence, to carry and  
‘ fupport an ufelefs, nay, I am forry to fay,  
‘ a diffolute fet of men, to live in idlenefs  
‘ among them, and deprave the manners  
‘ of the people, which is of no fmall im-  
‘ portance in infant colonies, where the  
‘ utmoft induftry is neceffary to their own  
‘ well-

‘ well-being, and their utility to their  
 ‘ mother-country.

‘ If the calling on the Americans to re-  
 ‘ fund expences neglect and timidity oc-  
 ‘ casioned, and expences which arose for  
 ‘ the defence of his Majesty’s dominions,  
 ‘ and the security of *our commerce*; and if  
 ‘ regular troops are not necessary for the  
 ‘ defence of that people, the whole system  
 ‘ of levying taxes falls to the ground, and  
 ‘ there is no pretence for doing of it, in  
 ‘ violation of their charters, charters that  
 ‘ will ever be held sacred by all true Eng-  
 ‘ lishmen, especially by those whose fore-  
 ‘ fathers fled into the wilderness, to avoid  
 ‘ the intollerable oppression, and arbitrary  
 ‘ power of the *faithless* Stuarts, who look-  
 ‘ ed upon the peoples charters as waste-  
 ‘ paper.

‘ It appears, the late ministry were de-  
 ‘ termined to load America with taxes;  
 ‘ without any regard to their charters;  
 ‘ this, they must needs think, would sit  
 ‘ hard on a brave and free people, whose  
 ‘ liberties, inviolably maintained, would al-  
 ‘ ways occasion an accession of people to  
 ‘ cultivate our extensive acquisitions, as  
 ‘ well as conciliate the minds of the Cana-  
 ‘ dians to an English government. Taxes  
 ‘ would, I say, sit hard on them, espe-  
 ‘ cially

‘ cially such as would impoverish the whole  
‘ country, occasion great discontent and  
‘ animosity ; therefore, to stifle the popular  
‘ odium, and the ferment of above *a million*  
‘ of an oppressed people, and not for their  
‘ defence, land forces were necessary to be  
‘ quartered among them, and cruisers on  
‘ their coast, to prevent illicit trade ; but,  
‘ in reality, to keep the colonies in awe,  
‘ and carry into execution the oppressive  
‘ measures, which some people have spoke  
‘ out ; *The Colonies are growing rich and*  
‘ *powerful, and must be kept under* ; which,  
‘ I believe, your Lordship has heard.

‘ How absurd is this ? Doth not, and  
‘ will not, all the riches and power of the  
‘ colonies centre in England, and make  
‘ us rich and powerful ? has it not really  
‘ done so already ? On the contrary, if you  
‘ stunt the growth of the colonies, don’t  
‘ you hurt yourselves ? Is giving the dead  
‘ palsey to the limbs, the way to promote  
‘ the health of the body ?

‘ Whatever fallacious reasoning may be  
‘ urged, there is a mutual interest between  
‘ Great Britain and her colonies, which  
‘ will ever unite them ; while sentiments  
‘ of liberty prevail, and are pursued, and  
‘ the monster, Oppression, banished from  
‘ the heart and head of an English mini-  
‘ stery,

‘ fry, and they act in character as Eng-  
 ‘ lishmen.

‘ Here is a continental connection, worth  
 ‘ maintaining and cultivating ; which, if  
 ‘ duly improved, will furnish us with the  
 ‘ treasures of the South, and the necessaries  
 ‘ of the North ; that riches and power,  
 ‘ which alone can secure us, by a *Family*  
 ‘ *Compact of our own*, which will bid de-  
 ‘ fiance to the Compact of Popish Powers.

‘ The last thing I shall trouble your  
 ‘ Lordship with, at present, is the equity  
 ‘ of *our* taxing America ; which I will  
 ‘ fairly state as it lies in my mind.

‘ All the colonies but Georgia, and No-  
 ‘ va Scotia, were originally settled by per-  
 ‘ sons drove from their native country, in  
 ‘ those reigns which, by oppression, stain-  
 ‘ ed the glory of Britain ; though, by the  
 ‘ like oppressive measures, she was sup-  
 ‘ plied with manufacturers from the neigh-  
 ‘ bouring continent, to our unspeakable  
 ‘ advantage.

‘ Yet, oppression was so much the taste  
 ‘ of those times, that it drove out a num-  
 ‘ ber of the King’s subjects, who took  
 ‘ shelter in a desert, that they might enjoy  
 ‘ their civil and religious liberties, uncon-  
 ‘ trouled and unmolested. They were  
 ‘ then in a state of nature, under no civil  
 ‘ govern-

‘ government but what they formed them-  
 ‘ selves, when they had established their  
 ‘ several settlements. out of regard to their  
 ‘ mother-country, they sent home their  
 ‘ several agents, to tender their new ac-  
 ‘ quisitions to their mother-country, on  
 ‘ certain conditions then agreed on by the  
 ‘ several parties, and ratified by their re-  
 ‘ spective charters, which they looked on  
 ‘ as sacred, and make their boast of, like  
 ‘ our *Magna Charta* of England.

‘ If you consider the thousands that  
 ‘ have been expended in settling Georgia,  
 ‘ and Nova Scotia, you will better judge  
 ‘ of the merit of the other colonies, which  
 ‘ settled themselves, without any expence  
 ‘ to their mother-country. Without such  
 ‘ a surrender, therefore, Great Britain  
 ‘ could have no pretence to any authority  
 ‘ over them ; for the right was founded  
 ‘ in compact ; and the same compact that  
 ‘ gives Great Britain any rightful autho-  
 ‘ rity over them, secures the privileges sti-  
 ‘ pulated in that compact ; which is, the  
 ‘ *sole right of taxing themselves*, by their  
 ‘ own representatives ; in which all the  
 ‘ charters agree, however in other cir-  
 ‘ cumstances they may differ ; therefore,  
 ‘ any attempt to break in upon their char-  
 ‘ ters, must meet with the same recep-

‘ tion from them, as an English ministry  
 ‘ would find from a violation of our *Magna*  
 ‘ *Charta* ; can you wonder then at any  
 ‘ thing that has happened in Virginia, or  
 ‘ any of the other provinces, by invectives  
 ‘ against a ministry that violates their  
 ‘ *Magna Charta*, and deprives them of the  
 ‘ privileges of Englishmen ? an army,  
 ‘ therefore, is necessary to carry such mea-  
 ‘ sures into execution, though not necessa-  
 ‘ ry for the peoples defence.

‘ It was always the ambition and glory  
 ‘ of the House of Hanover to maintain the  
 ‘ privileges of Englishmen inviolable ; and  
 ‘ it will be a standing mark of infamy on  
 ‘ any minister who stains that glory, by  
 ‘ the least violation of them in America.

‘ I submit to your Lordship’s determi-  
 ‘ nation, which is his Majesty’s interest ;  
 ‘ to rule in the hearts of a free people in  
 ‘ America, as well as in England ; or, by  
 ‘ destroying their medium of commerce,  
 ‘ which they have found useful for above  
 ‘ an hundred years, and by laying bur-  
 ‘ thens upon them, which they cannot but  
 ‘ look upon as acts of arbitrary power ;  
 ‘ which makes them slaves, instead of  
 ‘ Englishmen ?

‘ If at any time there is a necessity of  
 ‘ raising money from the colonies, let it  
 ‘ be



‘ be intimated by the several Governors to  
‘ their respective Assemblies; as was annu-  
‘ ally the case during the war; it will be  
‘ chearfully done; and preserve that na-  
‘ tural deep veneration and love which  
‘ they bear their King and mother-coun-  
‘ try.

‘ If the facts represented to your Lord-  
‘ ship appear evident, and the reasoning  
‘ just, their importance will apologize for  
‘ this great freedom taken with your  
‘ Lordship, in opening the unreserved sen-  
‘ timents of, My Lord,

‘ Your Lordship’s most obedient,  
‘ Humble Servant.

November, 1765.

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## L E T T E R II.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ IT is now received, as an undoubted  
‘ proposition, that the strength, riches, and  
‘ influence of Great Britain, depend upon  
‘ commerce: whatever therefore dimi-  
‘ nishes our commerce, must impoverish  
‘ and weaken our national influence.

‘ Our commerce has been greatly cur-  
‘ tailed in most parts of Europe; and we  
‘ have therefore only our connection with

G 2

‘ America

‘ America to trust to, as the source of  
 ‘ our strength, riches, and felicity. Every  
 ‘ thing, therefore, that interrupts and  
 ‘ weakens the mutual confidence which  
 ‘ has been remarkable for a hundred years  
 ‘ past between Great Britain and her colo-  
 ‘ nies, must enfeeble the strength, and di-  
 ‘ minish the riches of this country.

‘ The advantages to be drawn from our  
 ‘ American colonies, must arise, not from  
 ‘ taxes of any kind, but from extending  
 ‘ our trade. Whatever measure straitens  
 ‘ and cramps our trade, can never be com-  
 ‘ pensated by any taxation ; nor can any  
 ‘ thing be an equivalent for the decay of  
 ‘ that mutual harmony, and friendly inter-  
 ‘ course, which are the necessary cement  
 ‘ of our trade with them

‘ So deep a scar was made by the late  
 ‘ Stamp Act, as is not yet entirely healed.  
 ‘ Making any fresh wounds in our com-  
 ‘ merce, if persisted in, must unavoidably  
 ‘ occasion painful sensations, not only in  
 ‘ America but in Great Britain ; and be felt  
 ‘ not merely by the merchants, but by  
 ‘ every manufacturer with whom they are  
 ‘ connected ; and no one corner of the  
 ‘ kingdom will escape the baneful influ-  
 ‘ ence. To put any difficulties on our  
 ‘ American trade, will inevitably diminish  
 ‘ our

‘ our exports to that country, from their  
 ‘ inability to pay the merchants for the  
 ‘ manufactures imported by them ; which  
 ‘ inability will be the same, whether the  
 ‘ people in America resolve to take goods,  
 ‘ or not. The Governors and Judges be-  
 ‘ ing independent on the people, which  
 ‘ must render the course of justice preca-  
 ‘ rious, will be a further discouragement  
 ‘ to trade, and will raise fresh, in the minds  
 ‘ of the Americans, the evils that attended  
 ‘ such a measure, when their fore-fathers  
 ‘ left this their native country.

‘ When the merchants dare no longer  
 ‘ venture their substance on such uncer-  
 ‘ tainties, the Americans will be under the  
 ‘ necessity of using their own manufac-  
 ‘ tures, though contrary to their present  
 ‘ taste and inclination. To prevent them  
 ‘ pursuing this only resource and remedy,  
 ‘ must be the most manifest injustice, and  
 ‘ as absurd as to make a law obliging  
 ‘ them to go naked.

‘ The only method to secure our mu-  
 ‘ tual interests, and effectually prevent the  
 ‘ Americans thinking seriously of manu-  
 ‘ factures, must be to encourage cultivat-  
 ‘ ing their lands, and extending their com-  
 ‘ merce, and thereby enabling them to pay  
 ‘ for the various merchandizes of Great  
 ‘ Britain,

‘ Britain, which at present lie on hand  
 ‘ for want of a market, and will leave  
 ‘ thousands of our poor unemployed, ripe  
 ‘ for tumults and confusion.

‘ I submit to your Lordship’s superior  
 ‘ judgement, if any sum of money, raised  
 ‘ by taxes, can compensate the evils which  
 ‘ must inevitably follow discouraging a  
 ‘ trade, to the amount of two millions a  
 ‘ year, which employs a hundred thousand  
 ‘ hands, who are already in the greatest  
 ‘ distress, through the dearth of provi-  
 ‘ sions; and whose distresses, before the  
 ‘ winter is out, may make them desperate,  
 ‘ as well as losing the confidence and  
 ‘ esteem of two millions of the most loyal  
 ‘ subjects in his Majesty’s dominions, whose  
 ‘ affection for their mother-country is  
 ‘ strong and natural. I am,

‘ Your Lordship’s dutiful,  
 ‘ and obedient Servant.’

January, 1768.

I know, every candid, independant man,  
 who reads, is fully convinced of the good-  
 ness of the measures here pointed out :  
 we are now all of opinion ; for our in-  
 terests, and path of proceedings, are as  
 plain and clear as substances and shadows  
 by sunshine. Our difficulty remains, to  
 fix

fix upon the proper persons who have honesty and firmness enough to lead ; for there are so many little sons of Cerberus, who must have a sop, or will otherways bark up our fears, jealousies, phantoms, and apparitions ; that our greatest men are either afraid of, or in doubt, whether there is a possibility of opposing them with success, though supported with the immediate interest of the wide extended empire. All I will venture to recommend, is to hold the man, who has thus blundered, or wilfully plunged us into so many difficulties, in the highest contempt ; and let the conduct of those who are in power, point out their fitness for office, by consulting the interest of the kingdom, united.—

*Difficulties!* did I say ; I fear a few months more will enable me to say, *Destruction!* Be not deceived ; there are false spirits, delusions, and heresies in politics, as well as in religion. He who tells you, the constitution goes on with vigour, lyes ; the extremities are now perishing ; must not the pain soon reach the heart ? can the hand or foot be mortified, without danger to the whole body ? should not the blood, which nourishes the vital part, run pure to the distant limbs, and receive no contamination by the way ? the physician  
who

who thinks otherways, is a mad-man or a quack. The statesman, who suffers slavery and oppression to rest on any corner of the kingdom, is to be displaced, as utterly unworthy the important trust, either for want of sense or honesty. But, from the fell influence of our enemies, or former Prime State Blunderer, this is our dreadful and unhappy situation. Our colonies are under most severe restrictions and deprivations; their lands are daily selling, to discharge their debts to England; their own internal provincial debts insupportable; their credit lost; their agriculture declining, for want of markets †, which the laws

† 'Tis our business to supply, if possible, all the foreign islands in the West-Indies, from America, with fish, lumber, flour, live stock, provisions of all kinds; and at the same time push off among the inhabitants as many British manufactures as possible: This they endeavour to prevent; because, in proportion to our share, the supplies they would otherways have from their mother state, to whom the islands belong, must be diminished; likewise every handful of their produce, which we get in return, lessens foreign navigation; but there is an easy method to elude all their vigilance, which is to make free-ports, entirely free, as St. Eustatia is to the Dutch, without a custom-house-officer's ever having power to meddle with the planter, who comes to barter his produce: these ports should be as near as possible to the islands, with whom we want to trade, and vast care should be taken to encourage the planter to come to them; for when our ships attempt to load at those foreign islands, they are immediately liable to total confiscation, &c. &c. and the men to imprisonment. A late administration, did wisely to open Dominica and Jamaica; but I imagine

laws of England forbid ; their principal inhabitants removing from a loathsome, idle town, or sea-port, retiring into the desert, to live in a state of nature ; their seamen left to seek employment in foreign ships (which, as they are their home, soon unites them to the foreign state to which the ships belong ; ) their Courts of Admiralty dangerous to the little remains of commerce, now scarce sufficient to feed the idle drones placed in them ; their Courts of Record, at the arbitrary command and controul of hungry, imperious Governors \* ; threatened with hireling

gine they could not make the former free enough for want of proper support in adopting the measure. Pensacola should have been opened to receive the trade of Cuba, and Spanish Mexico, and Turks islands for Hispaniola ; and every ship employed in this trade would be an additional strength to the English navigation built upon the decline of foreigners, who must lose the advantages of navigation with the produce : but what can we expect of this nature, since our lords of trade write dissertations against trade, (mistaking the thing itself for its bad management) and endeavour to prove it is our ruin.

\* A few months since, a person was taken in the streets of New-York, and committed to the Guard-house, without offering the least insult to the military, or any one else. The mayor of the city, being informed thereof, went next day and demanded him to be delivered to the civil magistracy ; but governor M. answered him, that he should not be delivered, but that the inhabitants of that city should have more and more regiments quartered upon them, and if they complained then, they should have chains : this is asserted by every gentleman lately from thence.

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troops; subjected to the courts and decisions of Five Revenue Commissioners †; represented as rebels to the State, for refusing the shackles of slavery; called rascals, and unjust villains, because disenabled to pay their debts. Under these unhappy and desperate circumstances, some may, perhaps, expect they will be forced to open violence. No doubt, our enemies, the French, long to see them drove to that dreadful extremity, and our swords drawn against ourselves; and this would have been the case, two years ago, had we fol-

† One of those C——s was a surveyor and searcher in——, who——the government out of a handsome fortune, if we may believe common report, while he returned little or no money to the proper officer; another was appointed collector of a neighbouring province, where he likewise made hay by sunshine; for he took especial care to keep out of the way, when there was occasion, though his duty called him to do otherways; but 'tis nothing new, to promote men to places of profit in the Colonies, for *unmerited services*. There were not many years since two chief justices successively sent over to one of the provinces who had been bred professed pimps; and I suppose shone in that character so highly, as to intitle them to give decisions in any matters so trifling as the little petty property, or life and death can be, in a distant colony. This Court has such an unlimited power to appoint as many officers as they may think fit; and together with the Courts of Admiralty, can so perplex and harras the fairest trader, that most people of prudence are daily declining business, and leaving the desperate game of commerce to the ignorant or desperate merchant.

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lowed the iniquitous advice of Mr. ——— ; but the colonists have no thoughts of such a measure. They know their whole property depends upon the English laws ; that the moment they become unhinged from Great Britain, they bid farewell to property ; and they tremble at the thought of a separation †. You may depend, therefore, they will take better methods ; they will plead, petition, remonstrate to, and convince, by solid arguments, the generous, humane, and noble hearts of us their countrymen in England, how just their claim, how reasonable their requests, how hard their lot,

† What madness those are guilty of who recommend governing our colonies by military power ! was this once to be adopted, what have we not to fear ! a prime Minister might at any time sell our whole line of colonies to France, and give them up with no other trouble than that of sending over a proper commander, who agrees to obey his orders ! If a Minister should not do it, the commander in chief may be induced, either by money or ambition, to try the experiment. Whereas now, by the divided state and little mutual jealousies subsisting among them, the different forms of provincial government, and the utter impossibility of ever uniting them in any one thing, but by the most dreadful threatenings of abject slavery ; their lands going in inheritance, and remaining secure only by the laws of England ; their just sense of dependence, their love of liberty, their love to their mother country, and loyalty to their prince ; and above all their most certain and clearest interest to remain most intimately united with us, which they have demonstrated most evidently by a faithful obedience of 150 years ; leaves no possible room to entertain one idea of jealousy of a separation.

how dear their liberty, and how intimately, how inseparably it stands connected and interwoven with our own. And should they not successfully thus plead the cause of equity, and the cause of England's liberty; should the hirelings of France, and poison of faction, still find means to stop the ear of reason and common sense; should the fell designs of blunderers, or pompous jargon about words, or the threadbare tales of jealousy, still harden the hearts of Englishmen, they must try another method; they must save, by every rule of œconomy; reduce their wants, bridle their passions, contract their pleasures, and banish every species of luxury, till they can behold the fashions and tinsel'd splendor of Europe with indifference and contempt. Would there be then a man in England, nay on earth, whose heart would not applaud the noble conduct, and with homage revere the sublime character!—I should be sorry, but I may live to see, three millions of brave people, cloathed in the skins of beasts; fed from Nature's wholesome hand; sheltered from the storm by the unpolished bark, that they may leave freedom for an inheritance to their children. Should this ever be the case (and this, I know, will be

be the case, sooner than they will part with the rights of Englishmen) — What must then be our condition? Our stocks and credit sunk; our merchants bankrupt; the produce of our lands perishing on our estates; our manufacturers starving\*; and, from necessity, must plunder every wealthy neighbour for bread; our nation divided, to whom then our once despicable enemies would give laws and edicts; the question, how to govern or enslave one part of the empire would be then changed; for we should then see, too late, that the whole must be preserved, or the whole lost. But I must close the dreadful scene.—You, Sir, whose important business is to watch over the rights and liberties of this great nation, may, we hope, by your abilities, diligence and care, help to save us from the calamities we so justly fear must otherways soon overtake us. And though affairs appear dark and threatening; though our enemies without are ambitious, powerful, and cunning;

\* If our trade to America be at an end, one third of the manufacturers working for exports, and the number is infinitely great, must most evidently fall upon the different parishes to be supported; which will likewise ruin many thousands of families: beside, such universal bankruptcy, will make all the nation tremble, not a man of whatever rank or degree, but must feel the fatal effects.

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though they have warm advocates, and faithful servants, in our very bosom ; some, from unknown charms, some from false reasoning, and some from pride, and love of power, chusing rather to see the empire lost, than the infallibility of a part questioned in the least point ; and though a revengeful ; disappointed servant has found means to continue mischief and uneasiness, by spreading lyes and prejudices through the land ; yet there are many things to encourage and animate you in a steady and spirited opposition to his measures. You have a King, whose glory is the liberty of his subjects ; who loves peace, harmony, and concord ; and wishes to expand the beams of solid happiness to the most distant corner of the realm. All the real friends of freedom are, or will in a short time, be on your side ; the interest of the merchant first, then the manufacturer, and finally the landholder, as they feel the distress, will, in the same proportion, bring on conviction ; and they must, they cannot but unitedly support the men who are inclined to support the state, by wise, just, and equitable measures. The people will, in general, begin to feel their dependance on each other ; as that necessity appears, they will look to the proper  
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objects for its support ; and those men who stand forth to save them, must become popular and important ; while they, who were the cause of their calamities, the disturbers of their peace, destroyers of their riches and strength, and promoters of divisions, must become odious and contemptible ; for the moment they are convinced, that even any of their fellow subjects are injured, and unjustly treated, their generous hearts feel all the passions of tenderness, humanity, contempt, hatred, and revenge.

May bad policy work out its own ruin, bad men finally be detected, mistaken men convinced, and prejudices rectified by reason and the force of truth ; and thus our union cemented, our enemies disappointed in their attempts to divide us ; and the glory of the whole empire shine with greater lustre than ever, under the smiles and benign influence of the best of Kings.

*F I N I S.*











